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131 Of the two centers of Bororo habitation situated, one to the
 361 northwest of Cuiabá and the other east-southeast of the same city,
 [248] the second today is made up of three groups of native villages:
 [199] those of the middle and upper São Lourenço, provided with resi-
 dents of the Service de Protection des Indiens /Indian Protection
 Service/, those of the Garças River, in the diamantiferous region,
 supervised by the Salesian missions, and lastly the three aldeas
 /villages/ of Kejara, Pobori, and Jarudori on the Rio Vermelho,
 a tributary on the left bank of the upper São Lourenço, which
 have been less directly affected by religious and administrative
 101 influences. We stayed in the most important of them, the Kejara
 132 aldeia, during January-February, 1936, at the time when the
 648 rainy season completely isolates the natives from the rare contacts
 which they are able to have at other times of the year with the
 Brazilian population; besides, the latter, never very numerous,
 some time ago completely evacuated the region, where material
 563 and sanitary conditions seem particularly unfavorable. Aside
 from two telegraph operators, only a few families of fishermen,
 leprous for the most part, live only on the banks of the rivers.
 361 Kejara aldeia occupies a wide, partly natural clearing on
 the left bank of the Rio Vermelho right on the riverbank and is
 bound on the south, west, and east by red sandstone escarpments.
 241 Native gardens—manioc, maize, and rice—extend for several
 137 hundred meters all around the village, closely mingled with the
 forest or brushwood which is beginning to come up again. Across
 231 them, as across the village, freely wander some hens and ducks,
 177 presents of the Protection Service, which live today in a half-
 [223] wild state and /270/ have to be shot with the bow to be caught.
 621 In January-February, 1936, Kejara aldeia comprised, in addition
 to the "men's house," 27 houses, /each/ inhabited for the most
 621 part by several families. The total population, impossible to
 162 evaluate in a precise fashion—part of the village is constantly
 [221] away, some fishing, some hunting, and some either visiting or
 on a mission to other native villages, amounted to approximate-
 ly 140 people, the number of women being less than that of men.

/275 cont. /

(of which von den Steinen's study, more than 50 years old, still offers an extraordinarily faithful description) if one did not take into account the fact that this culture, in itself highly superior to that of the Brazilian caboclo /"copper-colored"/ has been raised still more above the latter level by the gifts of the Service de Protection. A fisherman on the Rio Vermelho, in 1936, had only one means of obtaining an axe for himself: it was to try to get one from the Indians. The essential reason which permitted us to make up a small group to make the trip to Kejara, in a period when navigation in a canoe is particularly difficult, is that our men knew that the Indians in this village—where they had never been—had cultivated tobacco, and they were hoping to bring back some young plants. Their hope was realized: the 300 tobacco plants given by the natives to our canoeiros marked the beginning of tobacco cultivation by the Brazilian population of the upper São Lourenço. These extraordinary conditions explain why the material culture of the Bororo, incomparably superior to that of the immediate environment, should have been almost exactly preserved.

economic life. The present-day diet /276/ of the Bororo is more vegetable than meat. This is explained by the growing necessity to have recourse to agriculture in view of the increasing scarcity

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SOUTH AMERICAN INDIANS

[B. A. R. Bull. 148]

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Brazilian influence. He owns ceremonial regalia and is privileged to suffocate undesirable newborn infants.

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Individual differences in wealth occur mainly with reference to highly prized feminine ornaments, which are inherited matrilineally. It is noteworthy that a Kejara adept at manufacturing grindstones for the community was thereby freed from the necessity of engaging in direct activities for subsistence.

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Arrows were the major standard of value. They were presented to a jaguar-killer or to the kinsmen of one's mistresses and bartered against cotton or tobacco.

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Etiquette.—No man roasted his own kill, but was expected to pass it on to another. Corresponding procedures obtained for valuable furs and teeth. The skin and teeth of a jaguar went to the nearest relatives of the most recently deceased member of the tribe, the slayer receiving as his reward a decorative bow and arara feathers.

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Some regulations naturally fall under the category of taboos and ritual prescriptions. Before a hunt a *Western Bororo* was continent for 4 days, and painted his face with urucú. Women were not allowed to touch arrowheads. In the distribution of important game and fish it was essential for the bari to consecrate the animals, whereupon he might appropriate the choicest pieces.

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Sneezing is connected with distant members of one's family.

WARFARE

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War arrows were of seriba-palm wood and had a bamboo tip which broke in the victim's body (fig. 53, g). A club sword, a little over 3 feet (1 m.) in length, of heavy aroeira wood and lanceolate form, was suspended by a cord from the left shoulder. The spines of meru and tamu fish, attached to bracelets or to the fingers, made effective knuckle-dusters.

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The *Cayapó* were the chief enemies of the *Eastern Bororo*, and *Guand* and *Guaycurú* of the *Western Bororo*.

LIFE CYCLE

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Childbirth.—At a São Lourenço child's birth the parents fast for 9 days, taking only a little warm water on the third, lest father and child fall ill. In the Rio das Garças group abstention from food, drink, and smoking lasts from 3 to 5 or even 10 days, the object of the taboo being to make the infant able to bear hunger. The mother does not touch meat for several months. Parents here must not put their hands on their hair during this period—an indirect suggestion of a scratching stick—lest their hair turn white.

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chapadão, as is also mammalian and floral life. The rivers are likewise well stocked with fish, and as the pantanal originally was comparatively thickly settled, so is this part of Mato Grosso. The quantities of fish seem to determine the density of the population. Indian villages are found along the rivers quite closely together. It is this section of Mato Grosso that is poorly and in some parts totally unknown.

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Most of the southern part of the state is given over to civilized pursuits. The aboriginal peoples have practically disappeared, either having become exterminated or absorbed by the newcomers. From the time of the arrival of the earliest exploring parties, diamonds, gold and rubber have attracted the European adventurer, but now the main activity is cattle raising, though the search for diamonds still continues, especially at the headwaters of the Paraguay and the Araguaia rivers. A number of modern towns thrive along the railroad line, which runs from Porto Esperança on the Paraguay river, eastward. The most important cities are Cuiabá, the capital of the state, and Corumbá, the terminus of the shipping lines from Montevideo and Buenos Aires. S. Luis de Cáceres is a typical frontier town, conservatively maintaining an atmosphere of the old colonial days. [Plate II, 1.]

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Only the Eastern Bororo, on the São Loreço, have survived the incursions of the white man. Pacified but a few years ago, they have been collected on reservations, where they still maintain their own culture. Pirigara, Corrego Grande and Rondonópolis, all on the São Loreço river, are comparatively large settlements.

B
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The Bororo da Campanha have almost disappeared, and there exist but a few families of the semi-nomadic Guató. These are not of pure blood, having mixed with negroes and whites, and have practically forgotten their original culture. On the Taquary, a few Terenos have been collected in a settlement.

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At Barra dos Bugres a few Barbados remain. Their pacification has been completed and they are making rapid progress under the tutelage of the Inspectoria.

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Further north the Parese and some Nambikwaras live in settlements along the telegraph line. The Parese have shown great adaptability for Brazilian culture.

The Inspectoria maintains other posts, in various parts of the country, but at places like Pedro Dantes it has not succeeded in establishing permanent settlements. [See map, Plate XXV.]

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[i.e., Umutina-Analyst]

[text continues on p. 100]

114 ⁽¹¹²⁾ The Eastern Bororo have already been described in such detail by Karl von den Steinen and by Padre Antonio Colbacchini that only a few particulars were still left for investigation, especially in what touches on the problems of individual and social life and of cultural change.

131 In the middle of the last century the hunting territory of
175 these Indians extended from the Rio Paraguay up to near the city of Goyaz and from the Rio das Mortes up to near Miranda, therefore from about 50° 30' to 57° 30' west longitude and
● [648] from about 15° to 20° south latitude. It has been believed up
[181] to now that the Bororo did not go so far south; but the Tereno who live in the environs of Miranda told me that in past times the hordes of Bororo had frequently come to their aldeias, not making war on them, however, because, as the old Tereno chief Naliké said, in order to explain this inclination toward peace: "Bororo is very savage and does not stay."

22 But the Bororo were not by any means just a wandering
[24] people. They spent only three months of the year, more or less, on large hunting expeditions. The rest of the ⁽¹¹³⁾ time they settled down, planted maize, which they had known from a long time ago, gathered wild fruits, hunted and fished in the environs of their aldeias.

648 It is thus, more or less, still today. Only their territory is
167 reduced. In the east, west, and south, they were driven back by the whites, and in the north they had to flee from Indians still unknown, to whom the Bororo give the name of Kayamo.

797 In fear of all their neighbors, the Bororo came, more than
131 thirty years ago, to the Salesian missions, which were at that time established on the old road between Cuyabá and the Rio Araguaia. From this road, in other times infested by them, therefore from about 15° 30' south latitude, their present territory extends to about 17° south latitude and from about 53° to about 55° 30' west longitude.

The two principal missions of the Salesians among the Bororo are presently the São José colony on the Rio Sangradouro, tributary of the Rio das Mortes, which the people simply call

dren. One special house, larger than the others, is built in the center of the plaza. There the unmarried men sleep, and married men work and perform many of their ceremonies, taking advantage of the seclusion it provides from the women and children. All persons in the Bororo village are divided into two groups, or moieties, membership in which is hereditary. The moieties co-operate in work and compete with each other in recreation.

The Bororo were once among the fiercest tribes of Brazil, and warred against whites and other Indians alike. Today the few villages that remain

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[p. 39-F]

are pacified and are being affected to an increasing extent by contact with Western civilization. But in much of their ceremonialism these people still retain their native customs.

When a death occurs among the Bororo, all the members of the society put aside the activities of their normal routine for several weeks and together perform some thirty separate rituals that constitute their elaborate and protracted funerary ceremony.

A few years ago, the author, with the co-operation of the Brazilian Indian Service, had an opportunity to visit the Bororo village of Bayamoga

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[p. 39-G]

[text continues on p. 40-C]

CHAPTER XXXI.

THE BORDERS OF BORORÓLAND.—FORESTS AND
THE FORCES OF NATURE. 500

WE DISMOUNTED at a ranch on the borders of Bororóland 648 where, a few months before, the ranch owner and his men had wantonly and cruelly massacred fourteen harmless, helpless Bororó men, women and children, who worked for him, living upon his vast estate and under his protection. This was part of a wicked, idiotic plan to rid this particular region of the Bororó. These ranchers had induced the governor of the state of Goyaz, who had declared that he had nothing for the aborigines but bullets, to send a detachment of soldiers to murder a certain group of the Bororó, while they themselves slaughtered the other little group. The ranchers succeeded in executing their part of the horrid crime, but the other group got wind of the approach of the military in time to escape. This atrocity was entirely without excuse. These men, calling themselves the "civilized ones," say that the poor aborigines are "wild beasts of the forest." But the reader can judge which of the two are most worthy of the name. A prominent Brazilian official told me once that a rubber exporting company, wishing to rid a certain district of its primitive inhabitants, gave them poisoned rum.

The great table standing between the Bonito and Araguaya 500 river valleys is level and nearly treeless. One day, while crossing this broad, lonely expanse, we encountered a solitary bullock, which my companion said was suffering from a

/441 cont./

175 1845 and 1846, left us a small vocabulary; the engineer
 [113] Rodolfo Waehnelde gives a very clear description from the year
 1863 in the Revista Trimensal do Instituto Historico, Volume
 27; finally, the collector Richard Rohde, who in 1883-84 trav-
 eled in the southern Mato Grosso under the sponsorship of the
 Berlin Museum für Völkerkunde, set down a few statements
 in No. 1 of the Original-Mittheilungen aus der ethnologischen
Abtheilung der Königlichen Museen zu Berlin /Original Reports
 from the Ethnological Division of the Imperial Museums of
 Berlin/ (1885).

175 These Bororó of the Campanha and of the Cabaçal are re-
 438 garded as the remnants of a once powerful tribe which occupied
 the region between the Rio Paraguay and Rio Cuyabá, lived in
 bitter enmity with the colonists, disrupted communications
 especially between Cuyabá and Villa Maria and Mato Grosso, and
 was broken up into numerous subdivisions long since destroyed.

[797] In the 'twenties of our century the Bororó of the Campanha were
 the first /442/ to be persuaded to make peace, and in part to
 be baptized, by João Pereira Leite, a great fazendeiro near
 Villa Maria, who fought with them for six years, killed 450,

[433] and captured 50. * Not until 1842 were the Bororó of the Cabaçal,

[553] * He himself became the godfather of the
 chief, who, as usual, regarded the baptism
 as a name exchange and told everyone
 proudly: "My name is João Pereira Leite."

the ones usually described, induced to settle down along the
 Jaurú by "mild persuasion and gifts" on the part of the vicar in
 Mato Grosso, José da S^a. Fraga; they proved to be very stub-
 born about farming, however, planted only a little maize,
 batatas, and bananas, and preferred to nourish themselves
 chiefly from hunting with bow and arrow. Today the Bororó on
 the right bank of the Paraguay are a miserable, degenerate lot.

178 They were quite unable to bear civilization with its lures and
 [177] whiskey.

/442 cont. /

101 and still others on the Rio Xipotó on the border of the provinces of Minas Geraes and Rio de Janeiro, tribes which, both in origin and language, are altogether different from one another as well as from the "Coroados" of the Mato Grosso.

648 In Cuyabá the "Coroados" were the object of general interest upon our arrival. After always being regarded as the worst enemies of the /443/ rural population in the entire region between the Rio Cuyabá and S. Lourenço up to the boundary of Goyaz /Goiás/, they finally, thanks to the efforts of President Galdino Pimentel in the year 1886, became "pacificados," pacified, and were settled in two military colonies on the S. Lourenço.

101 By no means all the infamous deeds with which the
648 "Coroados" were charged were actually committed by them. In the northeastern part of Cuyabá in particular they were confused with the Kayapó, who carried on predatory raids there. Moreover, no one in the capital knew that the feared "Coroados" were nothing but tribal brothers of the same Bororó who had been living for a long time in several villages to the right of the Paraguay in peaceful conditions and in part in very reduced circumstances, indeed even tribal brothers of the same Bororó who were already allied with the founder of Cuyabá, Antonio Pires, before the middle of the eighteenth century and were used by him as a garrison!

I was not a little surprised when I learned from "Atahualpa," a "Coroado" brought to the capital along with a few companions for baptism, that they call themselves Bororó.

114 Thus the conversation with Atahualpa gave me the opportunity to solve another puzzle quickly. I had just read in [113] the book by Joaquim Ferreira Moutinho, Notícia da provincia de Mato Grosso (S. Paulo, 1869, 425 pp.) the report about a few captive "Coroados" (two girls and a boy) brought to Cuyabá in 1859, and found there a word list (p. 192) which I wished to compare with my own list. To my astonishment, nothing tallied, absolutely nothing. The author had been given the words by the "Coroado" boy, about whom he tells the most

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114 have joined them, they have changed their language to a thieves' idiom (!). In Cazal (Corografia brasílica, p. 302) two hordes of Bororós are mentioned: the Coroados, or shorn ones, and the Barbados, bearded ones. The former are not navigators, but nomadic hunters who are said to dwell to the south and southwest of the city of Cuyabá in inaccessible wildernesses on the sources of the Rio de S. Lourenço and the Rio dos Mortes, a tributary of the Araguaya. These statements by Cazal are perfectly accurate and true, and he, too, thus recognized the "Coroados" as Bororó. By /445/ "Barbados," Martius goes on to say, perhaps the Guató are to be understood, they sometimes attacked caravans traveling from Goyaz to Cuyabá and extended their raids as far as Diamantino.

[101] The Guató, however, have never come into this region, they live as water nomads in the upper Paraguay region; those "Barbados" were probably Kayapó or even Bororó.

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101 Martius, of course, explains the name Bororó according to the lingoa geral, either, if coming from the neighbors, = "warriors, enemies," or, if they themselves say it, = "we, the masters of the soil." The Bororó, however, know nothing about the lingoa geral and they call themselves this.

797 I shall now drop the name "Coroado" altogether; I shall report some things about the so-called "catechesis" or conversion of this Bororó tribe, which was attempted in vain for many years, but could scarcely have succeeded because the attempts were carried out in the most topsy-turvy manner. A military colony set up on the right bank of the S. Lourenço, which was established toward the end of the 'seventies by Major J. Lopez da Costa Moreira, served as the base.

648 In 1878 one Captain Alexander Bueno with 70 Terena Indians, a tribe belonging to the Guaná group, undertook an expedition "to drive out the Bororó." He had been secretly instructed, as I was assured, to shoot to death as many as possible and was favored by success to such an extent that he was able to show the President a bag full of ears. Of living ones he brought along two women and two children.

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On 9 October 1880, the Bororó attacked the fazenda of José Martins de Figueiredo on the Bananal (Rio Cuyabá) and killed several persons. Thereupon several simultaneous expeditions were fitted out against them. One of the leaders was Lieutenant Antonio José Duarte; he attacked a village without success and captured five women and twelve children. Nothing more was accomplished. During the years 1875-1880, 43 houses of the Bororó were said to have been burned, 204 persons (134 men, 46 women, 17 children, 7 slaves) killed, and 27 persons (eleven men, six women, three children, seven slaves) wounded. It is not indicated how many Bororó were killed. There is no doubt [72] but that reciprocity played an important part. It was generally emphasized that the natives showed the toughest endurance in carrying out their plans of revenge. A Brazilian who had very cruelly murdered two children was systematically persecuted for more than four years, until they finally caught him and tore him to pieces, as he deserved. They were extremely cautious in their attacks and were on the lookout for days and weeks until an opportunity presented itself when there were only a few individuals on the farm. They usually left individual travelers unharmed, but if the latter wished to pitch their camp somewhere, they were prevented from doing so by a cry of "va embora," "go away," resounding from the forest. No one was to be seen, but an arrow could have been expected if they had not obeyed. In February 1881 at Forquilha, ten leagues from Cuyabá, /446/ two men and seven children were killed by Bororó; in fact they advanced as far as Urubú near the powder factory, five leagues from the capital.

[728]

Lieutenant Antonio José Duarte, whom I have just mentioned, finally brought about a favorable change in the intolerable situation. He sent back captive women with lavish gifts, promised more if the men came, and thus, at last, the reconciliation was brought about. In January 1887 he brought some 400 Bororó to Cuyabá. There must have been a strange commotion in the streets of the city. The children gave the most pleasure; they acted very impetuously and were compared to little jaguars, "sómente unha e dente," "nothing but claws and teeth." The

/446 cont. /

- 648 women climbed over the garden walls and climbed trees; as was their habit, to fetch down fruit for themselves.

[361] The province sighed with relief; with customary exaggeration, the Bororó were estimated at 10,000 souls and the entire 10,000 were already visualized as planting mandioca and working in the sugar mills. The government immediately made 70 contos (at 1000 milreis) available for the catechesis and the citizenry voluntarily added three contos, which altogether amounted to about 140,000 marks at that time. The expenses increased within a short time to 118 contos. The Indians were settled in two colonies: the one where the Prata flows into the S. Lourenço was called Thereza Christina after the Empress; the other where the Piquiry flows into the S. Lourenço was called Izabel after the Crown Princess and wife of Count d'Eu. The President also founded a "Collegio de Nossa Senhora da Conceição" for the education of Indian children -- a school that was never attended by pupils.

648 Solemnly the entire company was baptized by the bishop.
799 The then President, Don Alvaro Marcondes, and his wife were godfather and godmother for all; Chief Moguyokuri, whose personal acquaintance we shall make -- truly a magnificent figure of an Indian, 1.9 meters tall and, despite some inborn brutality, an exceedingly good-natured gentleman -- was given the name Alvaro. His Christianity, to be sure, was limited to his remembering this name for a few days.

648 "Muguiocury," reported the Jornal do Commercio in a
[77] Cuyaban letter, "seems to be completely identified with the cause of civilizing his tribe, assiduously visits the palace to call on the President and bring him presents; he manifests the greatest sympathy toward him and calls him 'Godfather,' kissing his hand as often as he sees him. Each time he meets the President he shows his satisfaction with much laughter and repeated embraces."

Difficile est, satiram non scribere /it is difficult not to write satire/. It is indeed very difficult. Good Moguyokuri undoubtedly had the best intentions, within the limits of his intelligence, as

/446 cont. /

648 long as gifts were not lacking. The Indian, the officer, the supplier, each in his way wants to enrich himself, that is the catechesis. The /447/ government gives the means with lavish hands and the one and only thing accomplished is that the hostilities, for which both parties were equally to blame, come to an end. Christianity, education for work, training of youth -- my pen refuses to write these fine words.

Whatever money was used for the Indians was used in such a way that the splendid human material was certain to go under. Lieutenant Duarte, the leader of Thereza Christina, was truly, as the Cuyabans said, "the god of the Coroados"; he gave them everything they wanted and kept them quiet with this simple method, which did not cost him much and permitted the merchants to profit according to well-known methods of calculation. The number of Indians, for whom the state paid per capita, tends to be very large, of course, and to this is added the considerable profit which the officer makes on the common soldier, who must buy his food from him or from the supplier engaged by him. Not only the goods delivered from the city, but also those from the fazendas located outside on the way to the colony were more expensive for the poor soldier in the colony than for the citizen in the city; farina, beans, bacon cost twice as much!

I listed the following prices (1 milreis = 1000 reis = about 2 marks):

	City	Colony
1 liter farins	100 reis	200 reis!
1 " rice	160 "	300 " !
1 " beans	160 "	300 "
1 kilo bacon	800 "	1500 " !
1 liter salt	200 "	500 " !
1 box matches	320 "	800 " !
Alcoholic spirits, bottle . . .	400 "	2000 " !
" " small glass . . .	80 "	250 " !
1 kilo fresh meat	200 "	200 "
1 " dried meat (<u>carne secca</u>). .	400 "	500 "
1 arroba dried meat	3000 "	8000 "
1 kilo Paraguay tea	400 "	1000 "
Rapadura (sugar-brick)	120 "	250 "

/452 cont. /

177 in hammocks, pieces of which they cut off, and in tablecloths --
291 a true Brazilian gift for naked Indians. They themselves do not use
513 hammocks, but sleep on straw mats. They would not dream of
296 washing their clothes; their shirts looked loam-colored, like their
bodies, the earth, the huts.

123 The good Bororó had been spoiled to such an extent that we
177 with our modest barter goods came off badly. They were already
such experts that they wanted only North American axes. Our
beads met with the most approval, but here, too, the women
seemed very particular and /453/ summarily designated the ones
that they did not like with the Portuguese expression which the
catechesis had made current and which distressed us very much,
"porcaria," "piggishness," or "merda," "filth," not to mention
the accompanying "diavo" curses.

Clothing the Indians was therefore not to be accomplished.

177 Agriculture. The Bororó were supposed to clear and plant!
241 In practice the officers thanked their lucky stars if they succeeded
in saving from the Bororó the plantings laid out by the soldiers.
As soon as the natives had axes, they found far greater pleasure
in chopping down the pikf trees than in climbing up them and re-
moving the fruit. In the military colony there was a fine
canavial, a planting of sugar cane. A watch had to be posted in
1264 order to prevent devastation. Nevertheless, the Indians paid
nightly visits and found a way to conceal them and to deceive
their patrons; they did not break the plants, but lay down on
the ground, bit into the cane as it stood, and contentedly sucked
on it. The mandioca planting was completely looted; the women,
accustomed to digging out roots in the forest, pulled up the plants
that were not a meter long and went on grubbing busily to see
whether more roots might be hidden in the ground. The hunter
tribe had no understanding at all for systematic planting, but
above all no patience to wait until the root had reached its full
development.

177 The soldiers could not very well solve the problem of making
648 gardeners out of these clumsy fellows. The task would have
been a difficult test of patience even for other men who would
have devoted themselves to it, not merely by command or to

/453 cont. /

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48 realize selfish wishes, but on their own initiative for the sake of the humane purpose, and apart from any greed. The Indians saw only too well that to live and let live was the only watchword of their paragons, that everything one needed was conveniently furnished from the outside; they were sincerely glad to break with their warlike past as soon as it no longer served any purpose; they were just as afraid of the Brazilians as the latter were of them, and for them the colony meant merely a comfortable and happy existence with few duties, which consisted of their occasionally lending a hand and furnishing the Brazilian chiefs with female housemates. A blind man could have seen that they were the true masters of the colony, and not Lieutenant "Dyáste," whose power was limited to his being in the position (actually in the forced position) of spoiling them.

128 Our impressions. Before I systematically assemble our observations, I should like to attempt to describe, on the basis of my journal, the most remarkable scenes from the life and activities of our Indians and their teachers that we experienced.

123 24 March. We are dining in our mess room with the door open. During the meal there is a constant coming and going; sometimes the little room is crowded with visitors, though we are sitting very close together as it is. The /454/ language used is a [192] wonderful Bororó-Portuguese. Bororó predominates in the ordinary pleasantries, that is to say, the substantives required for the case, only a rather small number of which is known by the Brazilians, are combined with two dozen pronominal, adjectival, adverbial, and even a few verbal expressions in stereotyped uniformity, and the natives themselves, especially the women, willingly [273] adapt themselves to this pidgin-Bororó in their speech. The principal person is Chief Arateba in a state of chronic drunkenness; a plate of leftovers is given to this one or that one. The eternal feminine is pushing herself very much into the foreground; the female friends of the gentlemen are also given their plates, and the louder and more uninhibited they behave, the merrier is the general atmosphere.

/455 cont. /

517 him over, but he was lifted up and lost. Small fires were burning
[352] alongside the house. The men were lying in a row, one beside the other, their heads resting on chunks of wood, to sleep out there; they were chatting and biting stalks of sugar cane with their teeth, tossing the remains in an arc behind them. They were very much amused when I squatted down beside the fire and wrote down their words. At small fires to one side women were sleeping with their husbands; children were still running around gaily late in the night and romping across the plaza.

648 /456/ Meat distribution. 26 March. An efficient administration would find an excellent means of getting the Indians accustomed to order by the manner of its food distribution. But no one thinks of fair equality, either in rations or in other things. Everything is arbitrary. The crude scene at the distribution of the tapira, the ox, about two of which are slaughtered weekly and which represent a cheap food in the Mato Grosso, defies all description. The Brazilians could hardly make things easier for themselves. The pieces of meat and chopped bones are piled up in layers on top of one another in a great heap on a skin in front of the house; the Indians, men and women and older children, some of them armed with baskets, stand waiting to one side, one of the cadets gives the signal, and the whole crowd pounces on the meat and bones like a pack of wolves. It was such a disgusting sight that I lost my sense of humor, although a circle of on-lookers regarded the spectacle with a certain enjoyment. Especially the idiot Dyapokuri, a cretin type, attracted general attention; with animal savagery the imbecile, the deputy of the men's house, seized three huge pieces and, with grunts of triumph, dragged them away with shining eyes while the spittle ran down his hanging lower jaw. If this were nothing but a crude occasional joke, but no, it is the regular, local procedure. The Indian is thereby reduced to conditions which in his hunting life he overcame ages ago; for it is one of the chief purposes of the institution of the bari or medicine men (as we shall see) to prevent discord in the distribution of booty, a problem which the latter, it is true, solve by securing the best pieces for themselves.

/457 cont. /

000 After the roll call the men took off their caps and hats and sang, or rather bawled, with one clear voice predominating:

O, virgem da concepção, Maria immaculada, vós sois a advogada dos peccadores, criais todos cheia de graça com a vossa feliz grandeza, vós sois dos céos princeza, do Espírito Santo esposa.

Maria mãe de graça, mãe de misericórdia, rogai Jesus por nos, recebai (!) nos na hora de morte! Senhor Deus pequei (?), Senhor, misericórdia. Por vossa mãe, Maria Santíssima, misericórdia!*

* Satirical verse: "O, virgem da concepção, Maria immaculada, pagai o nosso soldo, deixai da caçoadá!" (pay us our wages and never mind the rotten jokes).

197 As in the "pronto" calls, Indians who happened to be passing by lustily joined in the singing; inside the house Caldas was practicing on the violin. At the end all of them, including the guard and the cadet with the sugar cane, knelt down. The Bororó did not pay any particular attention to the procedure, which had [533] long since been familiar to them. But about an hour later a dozen boys appeared before our door and sang -- the music was correct, the words, except for the beginning, unintelligible and not understood -- "O, Santa Maria, mãe de graxa," ** as they put their arms

** "Mother of fat" (pronounced grascha).

around one another, giggling, and lined up in a row leaning crookedly against one another.

648
293 Toward nine o'clock Moguyokruí had appeared before the cadets and demanded alcohol. For a change the chief "identifying himself completely with the civilization of his tribe" wore a woman's red petticoat and a white linen jacket; he insisted that the key to the supply room be fetched and he actually got his bottle; he achieved his purpose no less when, on occasion, he would rouse the gentlemen in the middle of the night.

Row with Arateba. He is once again totally drunk and demands more; this time, however, the famous key is refused. He alarms the whole colony with his yelling and scolding; he hastens to

/457 cont. /

- 648 his hut and returns with two "espadas"! He waves the sabers around
273 in the air, enraged, and totters from side to side, but contents himself with threats. He takes off first his shirt, then his trousers, /458/ and throws them at poor Eliseo's feet; he turns to the soldiers who are standing idly by and pours out all the insults he knows against the superiors, who are likewise standing idly about. He wants to go away and to go with us because here they refuse him alcohol. Finally he trudges home.

000 30 March, Good Friday. The guard holds his gun pointed downward. The guns of the rest of the soldiers remain on the ground. The soldiers' wives in their freshly ironed Sunday clothing wander to the graveyard with crosses and candles. The prison is opened; two prisoners come out, one of them a tall Negro, his surrão -- the leather bag that takes the place of a knapsack -- on his back and in his hand the coxó, the fiddle of the sertanejo, on which he is happily strumming.

224 The hunters returned heavily laden and brought a quantity of
765 game in their carrying baskets; Coqueiro, the new widower, is still in the military colony. The body of his wife is dug out. The bones were cleaned and brought in a basket to the men's house in the evening; a new basket-bag, into which they are to be transferred at the actual burial service, lies beside them and a pot with water stands there. The room is dark; only a few embers glow to one side, at which those who smoke light their cigars. Many men, women, children are lying comfortably stretched out on the floor. A tight semicircle of squatting figures, however, the bari in the middle, surrounds the baskets and the pot; they are singing a monotonous, but loudly resounding song of lament.

[276]
[533]
[756]
[534] The Bari is incessantly swinging the gourd rattle filled with clinking shell fragments, his deep, quivering voice rises above all the others with strong pathos, and he does not stop singing and swinging until his voice and hand fail him; then he falls silent and lets the rattle come to a trembling stop, there is a brief pause during which, in his transport, he hastily puts a cigar to his mouth, and, drawing at it forcibly, he swallows the smoke. Again he sings and rattles and smokes in between, until after a brief hour the

/464 cont. /

593 Then Maria, their sister, steps in with determination and clasps him so firmly that he is unable to move. The brothers are led off in different directions. From Arateba's hut comes the sound of ugly quarreling; again the swaying drunkard appears -- he has a regular criminal's face and, to top it off, a smoothly shorn head -- and forces his way into the hut where his brother is hidden. Resounding blows, blustering voices, a general scuffle. The excited crowd, in the center of which Moguyokuri's figure towers, comes outside, several wrestle with each other, Arateba again lies on the ground, the women now throw themselves heavily into the fray, Maria overpowers the drunken one, and he is dragged away. Everyone is laughing; they go back to the ranchão and several of them say, not unjustly: "piga* pega," "whiskey

* = Portuguese pinga, drop. Vulgar expression for alcohol.

is a bad thing."

ooo Discipline. Where such scenes were the order of the day, how could it have been otherwise but that a harmful reaction upon the soldiers /Pl. XXVI appears here/ /465/ would result? The men [48] were embittered because the Indians were idle and they had to do all the work, because the Indian obtained free alcohol to the point of the most flagrant abuse, and they had to pay two milreis for a bottle or five times as much as in the city, because the Indian was permitted to say a contemptuous filho da puta /bastard/ to the faces of the officers without punishment, and they were obliged to go into the xadrez* for their offences. Good-natured Eliseo,

* The detention room. Literally, "chessboard."

however, who was unable to change the system, was guiltless -- indeed, he was lenient enough, for example, to pardon a man who went for him with a knife. Of course, their pay was wasted in card-playing. When payday came, one of them had lost 100 milreis in vintê e um or trinta e um. If they had no money, they would sell their household utensils for a song.

[Text Continues on p. 576]

/466 cont. /

660 Eliseo had not yet been promoted; he himself, however, had been obliged to advise against having his young friend take over the other colony, Izabel, as proposed, because he might spoil his entire career by a mistake! For an outsider it was, indeed, remarkable to see how very much the cadets trusted his paternal care, which he alone profited by, and seemed truly devoted to him. I estimate that there were 30-35 toasts during the evening and calculate that more than 20 were to Duarte's well-being. Good-natured Eliseo was priceless. He first asked fluent Ildefonso to speak for him, but after a while he got up himself and /467/ began with determination: "não tendo a devida intelligencia," in fact, once the ice was broken, he gave one toast after another, each time beginning with the excuse that he did not have the necessary mental powers, and each time, at the end, appealing for the coadjuvencia of those present, debaixo de todo entusiasmo he drank the health successively of the individual members of Duarte's family, his wife in Cuyabá, his brother, and especially his eldest daughter. The more beer that was drunk, the more moving and serious the speeches became. The apothecary was a poet, he knew a great deal about all kinds of flowers and compared the uncouth cadet Joaquim to a bud, he extolled woman who -- part one -- was only a child, and for him -- part two -- a goddess who forever remains an unfathomable mystery to us men. To the soft accompaniment of the guitar Caldas recited stirring verses; the beautiful words often tumbled over one another with uncanny speed, and with equal alacrity our emotion was obliged to leap from the tender to the pathetic, from the strong to the sweet. Everyone was deeply moved. Duarte was embraced like a father, Eliseo knelt before him and begged him for his blessing, which the father, however, gently refused with a "isso não," "oh friends, not these tones."

648 I have not yet mentioned the Bororó. They were by no means
574 absent, however, and were very much part of things. For the
[293] first time I saw a proud Indian chief uncork a bottle of German export beer. They did very well by the juice of barley and sugar cane and drank far more than they could stand; they kept

/467 cont. /

● 648 interrupting the sentimental speeches with their eager chatter,
574 but no one paid any attention to it, they raised their bottles when
[273] the glasses clinked and would join in, they exhausted themselves
and us with tender embraces. Moguyokuri also sat down and
sang a resounding song and played the guitar, sweeping across
the strings like a tapir through bamboo. Only the Indian women
were absent during the serenade. Before it started, however,
two young people had been brought by Moguyokuri to Duarte's
room next door. There they looked out of the window the next
morning and let themselves be admired, tortoise-shell combs in
their hair, talmi chains around their necks, rose-colored circlets
around their wrists, and demurely dressed in long shirts covered
with a huge, iridescent palmetto design.

648 Perhaps I may be permitted to close up my peep show here.
The pictures would merely be repeated. Until our departure on 18
April we had no occasion to observe whether the absence of the
leader of the catechesis might be to blame for our unfavorable
first impressions. Quite the contrary. Duarte went bathing, took
a walk to the brickyard or the like; otherwise he sat all day in
his room, in which there were always many Bororó. They all
begged. Some received something, others received nothing.
There were always drunken ones among them. The soldiers
brought wood and palm leaves, which they obtained in the forest,
for a new building. A few Bororó helped /468/ occasionally, be-
cause they received whiskey for it. If the purpose of the colony
was doing nothing and passing the time on the part of officials
and Indians, it could be regarded as a shining example for all
others.

III. Observations.

000 Anthropological. Dress (hair, sexualia, artificial injuries, paint-
ing, ornaments). The aróe. Hunting and agriculture. Weapons.
Work in the men's house and techniques. Food; "consecration"
by the baris. Dance and play. Musical instruments; whizzer
sticks. Art of drawing. Law and marriage (customs of the family
and of the men's house). Birth; names. Death rites. Soul and

/500 cont. /

302 One day the men permitted
 [123] themselves the joke of conferring upon us too a little painting
 on our faces; the girls who met us were very much amused by
 it and called out, "af dye," "whizzer sticks," which at that
 time was puzzling to us. They also added a couple of small
 triangles by picking off the color from a painted Bororó who
 531 was standing nearby. -- Finally, the flags of the festive cuffs
 were red striped, cf. page 184, Fig. 17.

128 I discussed the pencil drawings of the Bororó, cf. Plates 18
 and 19 /see pp. 267 and 268/, on pages 264 ff. in connection
 with those of the Kulisehu Indians.

532 Their sand drawings, too, are described there on pages 263
 and 264. They especially liked to represent an Indian, charac-
 terized by a huge membrum virile, on a tapir hunt as he was
 shooting an arrow. We also saw a vaqueano throwing a lasso.
 Most attractive, however, was the dazzling jaguar drawing.
 Wilhelm's drawings always aroused lively interest. In the even-
 ing we often had visitors who studied them more carefully and
 set new tasks; one man wanted to see a picture of his fingernail,
 another caught a moth to be copied, and so forth. They also
 understood landscape pictures and recognized a certain tree be-
 side a hut, which Wilhelm had drawn on a larger scale.

534 Law and marriage. The chief commands in war and an-
 [622] nounces the hunt in peacetime, just as he provided for the plant-
 ing on the Kulisehu. Otherwise his office is without importance;
 • [48] it is hereditary. The Brazilians sought to strengthen his position
 as much as possible, so that they could rely on one certain person,
 but authority such as Moguyokuri had was, according to what
 [956] *Clemente* said, artificially inflated. Actually, the position of a
 medicine man was far better; for though the Brazilians primarily
 bestowed gifts on the chief, the bari was in the agreeable posi-
 tion of receiving the best on all occasions for his consecrations.
 Of course, there was the strenuous rattling that went with his
 trade.

/516 cont. /

114 Language. The linguistic material collected among the Bororó, which will perhaps suffice to establish at least the most important grammatical outlines, has not yet been worked over.

197 Up to now I have not been able to find any linguistic /517/ relationship with other known idioms. In any case, the Bororó belong neither to the Tupí nor to the Gês, as one might at first think. Nor would it be particularly strange if all efforts remained fruitless, because the vicinity of their territory, over a wide area, has experienced very restless times since the first settling of the Mato Grosso. In the north the road leads toward Goyaz, which they have often harassed with their attacks; in the south the discoverers came from the province of S. Paulo, and here as well as there years of slave-hunting took place.

194 The language is melodious and for us, apparently, easy to learn. As for consonants, only f is lacking, apart from fatogúro, "saliva"; double consonants are rare, the terminal sound is vocalic. The accent is generally on the penultimate syllable. There is no plural ending for the substantive. The independent personal pronouns are: 1. imi, I; 2. aki, you; 3. ema, au, he; 4. pagi, we; 5. tagi, you; 6. emagi, they. The corresponding pronominal suffixes for substantive and verb are:

1. i-, 2. a-, 3. -, 4. pa-, 5. te-, 6. e-.

194 In use, various forms of phonetic change and influences on the initial sound of the stem appear. I shall give a few tentative examples:

Ear	Nose	Head	To go
1. <u>i-wiya</u>	<u>i-keno</u>	<u>i-taura</u>	<u>i-i-tua</u>
2. <u>a-wiya</u>	<u>a-keno</u>	<u>a-kaura</u>	<u>a-tua</u>
3. <u>biya</u>	<u>eno</u>	<u>kaura</u>	<u>tua</u>
4. <u>pa-wiga</u>	<u>pa-geno</u>	<u>pa-gaura</u>	<u>pa-dua</u>
5. <u>te-wiya</u>	<u>te-geno</u>	<u>te-taura</u>	<u>te-dua</u>
6. <u>e-wiya</u>	<u>e-keno</u>	<u>e-taura</u>	<u>e-tua</u>